

Working Paper 66

**INTEGRATING GENDER INTO POLICY  
FOR MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY:  
Background Notes**

**Jo Beall & Julio D Dávila  
October 1994**

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## **PREFACE**

This Working Paper was originally prepared in early 1993 at the request of the Unit for the Integration of Women (UIW) in Industrial Development at the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO). It was designed as background notes for a lecture on "Gender and Industrialisation Policy", which forms part of a training package for the Integration of Gender Planning into UNIDO's Project Activities. We would like to thank all the staff at UIW in Vienna for their help and support, and especially Mrs Baerbel Chambalu, Ayumi Fujino, Gale Zahniser and Tessa Ulusay de Groot for their support in providing us with background material as well as for their comments on an earlier version of the paper.

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Jo Beall and Julio D. Dávila



## 1.Introduction

Identifying what is desirable in terms of gender sensitive practice, and even the implementation of gender goals at the organisational, programme or project levels, is relatively simple, when compared to trying to operationalise a gender approach at the policy level. This is particularly so for external assistance agencies engaged in supporting the strategies of national governments.

Thus, for example, the United Nations Industrial Development Organisation (UNIDO) can be instrumental in creating an enabling policy and legislative framework for gender-sensitive manufacturing development through its own activities, and in its direct project support. But with regard to policy formulation, UNIDO can do little more than advocate and be suggestive in its negotiations with national governments. With this in mind, this paper provides a conceptual framework, within which a **gender-aware** approach to industrialisation policy can be pursued.

Like many other international aid agencies in the United Nations family of institutions, UNIDO has a programme for the period up to the year 2000 to enhance women's contribution; in UNIDO's case this aims to secure women's equal participation in manufacturing development. This is based on the recognition that women play a substantial economic role, particularly in the commercial, service and manufacturing sectors. Moreover, the newly industrialised and newly industrialising countries have provided empirical evidence of the large share of women in the manufacturing labour force, particularly in those developing countries where industrialisation has been most rapid and successful (UNIDO, n.d.2).

However, the experience of countries in relation to industrialisation is quite diverse, as are the range and type of manufacturing activities engaged in. By the same token, the extent and nature of the incorporation of women into manufacturing industries have also varied from one country to another and from one decade to the next. Thus it is difficult to generalise, or to develop a gender-aware policy approach on the basis of what might be unique or non-replicable patterns.

It is estimated that women comprise around 28 per cent of the industrial labour force world wide, and of the total economically active female population in developing countries, only an estimated 12 per cent are engaged in formal or informal industrial activities (ILO, 1989). Estimates of the number of women in the industrial sector for the mid-1980s range between 108 and 166 million (Kusel, 1992a; Mitter, 1992), of

which no more than a million are employed by multinational corporations (ILO, 1988).

These figures suggest that a gender approach to industrialisation policy should not be over determined by our understanding of the very specific experiences of either women employed by multinational corporations or in the newly industrialised countries. To date, much of the work done on gender issues in manufacturing has emphasised the participation and position of women in such employment. Moreover, this has often been confined to the analysis of particular branches of manufacturing industry where women are concentrated, which are often the most labour intensive and lowest paid sectors such as garments and textiles, food, beverages and tobacco and electrical appliances (Kusel, 1992b).

A gender approach attempts to shift the focus of analysis to one which includes both women and men in all their roles, productive, reproductive and in the community, as well as the gender relations between them. Thus it would want to examine the broader impact of industrialisation on both men and women, and would not only be informed by the employment side of the equation (even when taking into account those deriving employment or an income both directly and indirectly from manufacturing). It would aim rather, at examining the impact of industrialisation on social and environmental well-being more generally, disaggregated on the basis of gender. This paper constitutes an introduction to how this might be done. It is necessarily tentative, given that there is not a significant literature examining industrialisation from this perspective, and because conclusive findings would require substantial primary research. Nevertheless, it attempts to sketch the gender issues which emerge from an analysis of national experiences of industrialisation, by drawing on suggestive material from four country case studies.

## 2.Towards a Gender Approach to Development

A gender approach<sup>i</sup> differs from one which looks exclusively at women's participation in development. Rather, it seeks to examine the roles of both men and women and the relations between them, their differential access to and control over resources, and their different needs. Second, a gender approach implies a recognition that the lives of both men and women are multi-dimensional and have to be perceived and addressed as such in policy and planning terms. Thus, for example, instead of addressing women or men in a uni-dimensional fashion - as workers or producers alone - a gender approach would take into account their multiple roles in the household, the workplace and in society.

Women and men are never just workers, but have other social roles which impinge on the manner and extent to which they engage in productive activities, as well as on their patterns of consumption.

Third, a gender focus includes an appreciation that currently there is an increasing diversity of household types, with women-headed or woman-maintained households (Buvinic and Gupta, 1993), emerging as an important and growing household form. Women from these households engage in specific economic survival strategies to balance their responsibility for income generation and household reproduction, often effectively alone. On the basis of this conceptual framework, a strong argument emerges for ensuring that a gender perspective is included in the formulation and implementation of policy. A recognition of household structures, and the interaction between the organisation of work and other social relationships and responsibilities of men and women, is crucial to the development of sustainable strategies.

Development policy, by definition, emphasises economic growth as an essential goal and a prerequisite for social progress. What differs from one policy approach to another, is who participates in development and in what ways, and who benefits from its rewards. The gender dimensions of this will be highlighted in the context of the policy approaches outlined below and shown in schematic form in Table 1. Although they are presented in the form of a chronological development, which in fact broadly holds, it is important to bear in mind that they are not always historically discrete. Within national policy frameworks, within sectoral programmes and in the context of individual programmes and projects, we can find a number of policy approaches operating side by side.

## **2.1 From Women in Development (WID) to Gender and Development (GAD)**

The United Nations Decade for Women (1975 - 1985) did much to highlight the situation of women and the important role they play in development. Up to this point, women had been largely absent from debates on development policy, with discussion on social cleavages being focused largely on income or class. However, in the 1970s there were efforts to link women's issues to development for the first time. This had a number of roots:

\*the work of anthropologists highlighted women's contribution not only to family welfare but to the household economy, and their role as active participants in the development process;

\*links made by some development thinkers between poverty and population growth which helped women firmly on the policy agenda as a significant target group;

\*and the influence of first world feminists and the women's movement in the West, together with the visible role of women in national liberation struggles.

These developments gave rise to what has become known as the "Women in Development" or WID approach which firmly placed women's issues on the policy agenda and which sought to "bring women into development". It gave rise to scores of campaigning or advocacy women's groups and non-governmental organisations, which put pressure on policy makers to pay attention to women's needs and interests. WID gained institutional form through the setting up of women's desks or WID offices in multilateral and bilateral external assistance agencies, and through the establishment of Women's Ministries and Women's Bureaux within national government structures.

This legacy has had an important and lasting political impact, although this has not always been successfully translated in policy terms. It was, and often remains appropriate to have a women-only focus, particularly as women are disadvantaged and need to benefit from a 'levelling of the playing field'. At a political level, women continue to organise appropriately and successfully around their collective needs and interests. However, when women's politics are translated into professional practice and are institutionalised within organisations, treating women separately has often led to the 'sectorisation' of women, in other words, the creation of a separate 'women's sector'. A resulting tendency has been for it to be marginalised from mainstream development, in under-financed and poorly resourced women's ministries, bureaux, offices and desks, and to be confined to funding and administering separate women's projects.

The shift from a WID approach to a gender and development (GAD) approach began in the 1980s. At first it involved efforts to integrate women's concerns into mainstream development rather than confining them to a separate sector. Second, it sought to demonstrate how gender-awareness would result in a transformation of the development process, through increased effectiveness and the potential for greater equity. More recently a GAD approach has involved developing gender competence among mainstream policy makers and practitioners, in order that a gender-aware approach becomes an automatic part of good policy and planning practice.

## **2.2 Policy Approaches to Women under WID Welfare**

Under the accelerated growth model which informed development policy in the from the first development decades, it was believed that investment in large-scale infrastructure, rapid industrialisation and mechanisation of agriculture would generate growth through the creation of wage employment, through increasing cash incomes and the creation of increased demand for goods and services. Modernisation and economic growth were almost exclusively addressed at men. Women, by contrast, were seen as passive beneficiaries of development, and were addressed in welfare terms exclusively in their reproductive role (Buvinic, 1983). Most popular from the 1950s to the early 1970s, the welfare approach to women is still widely used today. This approach aims at bringing women into development as better wives and mothers, for example through food aid and



TABLE 1: THE PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION DIMENSIONS OF DEVELOPMENT POLICIES - A GENDER CRITIQUE

	1940s - 1960s	1970s		1980s	1990s
<b>POLICY APPROACH TO DEVELOPMENT</b>	Accelerated economic growth model: industrial growth and mechanised agriculture	Distribution with growth: employment creation and meeting of basic needs		Economic efficiency: debt repayment & structural adjustment	In context of liberalisation, emphasis on productivity and poverty reduction: entrepreneurship, privatisation, human development and sustainability objectives
<b>INDUSTRIAL-ISATION POLICY</b>	Largely ISI with regional and national variations eg: Primary ISI (S Korea 1953-60); primary and secondary ISI (Mexico 1930-75; Colombia 1930-68); Primary EOI (S Korea 1961-72)	Continued focus on ISI with some countries shifting to EOI and new focus on SSED eg: Primary EOI and secondary ISI (Colombia 1968-75); secondary ISI and secondary EOI (S Korea post-1972); diversified exports through EPZs and secondary ISI (Mexico 1975-80)		Crisis of ISI policies (Colombia & Mexico); continued support to EOI (S Korea); promotion of EPZs (Mexico); enabling environment for SSED (Colombia)	State strategies for industrialisation focus on providing enabling environment for maintaining levels of industrialisation (EOI) but increasing productivity, competition and capitalising on comparative advantage, while promoting SSED for internal and external markets?
<b>POLICY APPROACH TO WOMEN</b>	Welfare	Equity	Anti-poverty	Efficiency	Poverty alleviation for women: seen as "poorest of poor" & targetted in special programmes Integration: mainstreaming gender
<b>GENDER CRITIQUE</b>	Essentially male jobs and skills with men being seen as producers;  women seen primarily in the subsistence sector, as wives and mothers, and as providers and consumers of social services  In countries with more advanced industrial sectors, women are incorporated mainly in labour-intensive industries	Focus on inequalities between <u>all</u> men & women; goal of women's economic autonomy provides justification for participation of women in labour force & education	Focus on <u>poor</u> men & women and informal sector; economic enterprise for men & income generation for women; consumption addressed by basic needs; production support through skills, credit and appropriate technology	Focus on delivery capacity of both men and women in productive activities and in meeting consumption needs to achieve economic efficiency & cost effectiveness; production emphasised at expense of consumption; market forces given priority over state regulation in fostering informal economy & beginnings of decentralised & flexible production processes, both with gender implications	Human development goals provide opening for recognising the roles, resources & needs of both men and women around production and consumption; women still addressed separately as "women's sector" through programmes and projects despite growing debate on "mainstreaming" gender; efforts to mainstream gender in wider productivity and poverty reduction goals aided by sex disaggregated data; variety and flexibility of production processes providing opportunities for men and women if appropriately supported through legislation, skills & technology

Key: ISI = Import Substitution Industrialisation  
EOI = Export-Oriented Industrialisation  
SSED = Small-Scale Enterprise Development  
EPZ = Export-Processing Zones

nutrition programmes. Thus women are not addressed as producers or workers at all.

## Equity

The failure of the benefits of modernisation to 'trickle down', led to a shift towards distribution with growth and the meeting of basic needs. Characteristic of the 1970s in particular, this development approach favoured employment creation strategies and explored the potential of the informal sector for poverty alleviation and economic growth. There were two dominant policy approaches to women during this phase (Moser, 1989). First, the equity approach arose out of the challenges accompanying the UN Decade for Women, which highlighted the impact of development on women and called for an integration of women as active participants in the development process. The equity approach emphasised women's rights and sought to achieve for women, political and economic autonomy and to reduce their inequality with men. It was challenging and sought to advance women's strategic interests, but tended to be top-down in approach and was often seen as externally imposed and furthering the agenda of Western feminists. For these reasons, it was less popular with governments and external support agencies than the welfare approach. However, it is important in that its emphasis on women's right to work, to education and to training, provided a policy rationale for fostering women's increasing labour force participation.

## Anti-Poverty

Within the context of attempts at meeting basic human needs, the equity approach gave way to the less challenging anti-poverty approach. Here the focus shifted to understanding women's poverty as a problem of underdevelopment rather than to analysing women's inequality in relation to men. Addressing women primarily in their productive role, its purpose was to ensure that poor women increase their productivity through access to employment or productive resources. As such, it addressed women's practical need for income. However, a failure to recognise women decisively in their productive role and to address them seriously as workers or entrepreneurs, meant that while the anti-poverty approach gave rise to small-scale enterprise development for men, women were confined to poverty alleviation programmes which took the form of often unsustainable income generating projects.

## Empowerment

Many of the emergent nations sought a 'third way' between the two opposed economic and political

systems, capitalism and socialism, and saw a restructuring of the terms of trade between the industrialised and developing countries as a precondition for their development. Thus they - alignment. The New International Economic Order (NIEO) was, in one sense, a direct response to the basic needs approach which, it was feared, would divert attention from economic development and would perpetuate dependency. There were those, however, who retained a focus on internal divisions and distribution within developing countries, and who translated the emphasis on self-reliance and sustainability, to the local level and to communities.

Within this context, and locating gender relations within the context of other social relations, the empowerment approach (DAWN, 1985, Moser, 1989) focused on solidarity between third world women and men and argued that women experience oppression differently according to race, class and colonial history. It challenged western models of development and emphasised the distribution of power both within and between societies. It aimed at meeting the strategic interests of women, particularly for greater participation and decision-making power, through bottom up mobilisation around their practical needs. As such the empowerment approach does not see power in terms of domination over others but as increasing women's individual and collective self-reliance. Like the NIEO itself, women's empowerment is not widely recognised by mainstream development, although it is having an increasing influence. This derives from its emphasis on the **process** of development as well as its **product** and the value of this for participatory development strategies. There is a debate as to whether an empowerment approach can be adopted by external assistance agencies, although the creation of an enabling environment in which empowerment can take place is felt to be possible.

## Efficiency

The 1980s saw a deteriorating economic situation in the industrialised market economies and increasing indebtedness in the third world. Together with high debt repayment and lack of investment capital, developing countries also had to cope with falling demand and lower prices for their basic export commodities. The 1980s also saw a big upheaval in ideas about development, sufficiently drastic to have been called a 'counter-revolution' (Toye, 1991). There was a questioning of the very idea that development should be led by government and proposals that more efficient development would take place through market deregulation and privatisation and through reducing the size and scope of the policy agenda dominated by the state. Recommended solutions for

ailing third world economies were stabilisation and structural adjustment policies.

The efficiency approach to women which accompanied these shifts in the 1980s (Moser, 1989), recognised that women's economic contribution to development was important and it aimed to harness women's economic participation on the understanding that to ignore it would be to under-utilise a valuable economic resource. Not only on the demand side, but on the supply side as well, women in the 1980s often increased their labour force participation given the increase in prices of most basic purchases and the fall in income of other household income earners. Thus women have played an important role in relieving the negative effects of adjustment policies, through contributing to household income notably through informal sector activities, and through taking on extra burdens of care within the household as a result of reductions in expenditure on public goods and services.

In general, the efficiency approach remains firmly within a WID framework. The idea was to add women's contribution to that of men, to improve economic efficiency and growth. On the basis of mistakes made in the past, it was accepted that by identifying and including women's needs in development initiatives, they would be more efficient and cost effective.

### **2.3 Productivity, Poverty and Sustainable Gendered Policy in the 1990s**

The neo-liberal agenda which came to dominate development policy in the 1980s is being refined in the 1990s in a number of ways. First, it is recognised that in some areas, the state is as efficient or more so than the private sector in the provision of a certain goods and services. Thus there is increasing interest in the comparative advantage of governments and the private sector, and even the 'third sector' or communities, in the provision of various goods and services. Moreover, with some goods and services, such as preventative health care, safe water and sanitation, the generalised public benefits are sufficiently extensive to warrant public provision even in the absence of returns. Thus enabling states are being encouraged, with the role of governments coming under new scrutiny, for example through 'institutional strengthening', 'capacity building' initiatives, and a growing preoccupation with human rights and 'good governance'.

Second, while the primary concern of the 1980s was economic efficiency and poverty alleviation through social dimensions of adjustment (SDA) programmes, in the 1990s there has been a shift towards trying to

link productivity enhancement and poverty reduction.

If the emphasis of the accelerated growth model was economic growth through the 'trickle down' of benefits from large scale industrialisation, the focus of the 1990s includes in its formula for promoting economic growth and poverty reduction, promoting the 'rising tide' of small-scale enterprise development.

Third, the 1990s are characterised by the influence of the environmental lobby and the focus on sustainable development. This involves a concern that current development is pursued in ways which do not compromise the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This has influenced debates not only on the environment, but also around social and economic development. Socially sustainable development implies not only investment in human resource development, but also involves 'a process of enlarging people's choices', the most critical of which are to live a long and healthy life, to be educated, and to have access to resources and a decent standard of living (UNDP, 1992).

Accompanying these changes in mainstream development thinking, the 1990s have seen shifts in thinking in relation to gender and development. The change in emphasis from women to gender, was partly a reaction to the under resourcing and marginalisation of 'institutionalised WID' during the preceding development decades. Following the euphoria of the 1985 Nairobi Conference which signalled the end of the UN Decade for Women, the situation in many national machineries and external assistance agencies was disheartening. At the same time, an awareness had developed that to ignore gender relations and to look at women in isolation from men only provided half the picture. This has led to explorations in a number of organisations for ways to integrate gender into mainstream policies, programmes and projects. Thus the function of WID desks or Gender Offices, and Women's Ministries and Bureaux, is showing signs of beginning to change, from one of implementing women's projects, to one of catalysing on gender issues within the context of mainstream development. In the 1990s, therefore, we see continued efforts to meet the particular needs of women through separate poverty alleviation strategies, for example through social funds, while at the same time there is a new effort to integrate into mainstream development a gender approach.

### **3. The Gender Variable in Industrialisation Policies**

A widely accepted view of economic development defines it as a shift in the national structure of production, generally from a predominance of labour-intensive agriculture to urban-based manufacturing

and services activities. This process is also associated with increases in per capita incomes. In the search for continued economic growth, governments in developing countries have sought to promote an expansion of manufacturing industry and thus increase wealth. Such efforts have had varying degrees of success and the often radical changes observed in many economies have also had significant, and diverse, implications for men and women from different social strata.

In this section, drawing mainly from four country case studies but also from data from a variety of other national experiences, we will examine the gender dimensions of the rapid industrialisation process that has characterised the development of many nations in the past five decades. By using case studies of countries which have followed quite diverse development paths, we seek to stress that few generalisations about the development process are possible. The process is not homogeneous but rather one that varies considerably from one national context to another, and from one decade to the next. Similarly, the process does not affect equally all the individuals in a society, be they producers or consumers, but its effects tend to vary in relation to age, social class and sex, among other factors.

The importance of examining the process in this manner lies in the policy implications that may be derived from the analysis. Policy measures designed to increase employment in the formal manufacturing sector may lead to improvements in the productive role of adult men, while programmes that seek to merely sustain or modestly improve income levels of the smallest urban enterprises - even with no possibilities for expansion - may benefit women and their dependents most (Berger, 1989).

The most obvious gender implication of industrialisation policies is the changing participation of women in the manufacturing labour force. In very general terms, female participation is said to follow the shape of an inverted "U" curve with sharp increases at the beginning of the industrialisation process when labour intensive industries expand, followed by a subsequent levelling-off or even overall drop after the introduction of more capital-intensive industries from which women tend to be displaced. At the same time, a growing share of female labour force is absorbed in white-collar occupations (Kusel, 1992b). The process is by no means that simple or homogeneous, of course. In some cases, for example, the participation of women often remains high or even increases in some branches of industry at later stages (Scott, 1985), as has been the well-documented case of many export processing zones such as those of Malaysia, Mauritius and Mexico's northern 'maquiladoras'.

Other, less well-documented gender dimensions of the process are differences in the nature and extent of participation rates of men and women in the labour force, their differing status and occupations within manufacturing, differences in access to skills, education and credit, participation in labour or production associations and diverse consumption patterns in relation to the products of manufacturing industry. Similarly, because of context-specific gender relations, adult men and women within the same household tend to have different access to income-earning activities and to the income earned by other members of the household. They also have different priorities and decision-making power in relation to the use of such income either for their own well-being or for the well-being of other, more vulnerable members of the household, such as children or the elderly.

If men and women are recognised in their different roles, we need to ask, for example, how import substitution industrialisation or export-oriented industrialisation and the related trade regimes might impact on these roles. Thus, we need to pose questions not only in connection with the extent and nature of employment, but about whether protectionist policies assist or frustrate women and men as consumers of particular commodities by virtue of their different responsibilities in the household and the community. By the same token, the extent to which industrialisation strategies have contributed to economic growth have to be examined, alongside consideration of how this has been distributed within society and between women and men according to their gender needs.

These considerations must be borne in mind when undertaking a gender analysis of the industrialisation process in a given national context. It must be emphasised, however, that analyses of this type are limited by lack of detailed information - such as data disaggregated by sex and studies of gender relations in production and consumption. In addition, official statistics tend to under-estimate female economic activity as well as small-scale manufacturing production (where women tend to be disproportionately represented). In this section, we examine some of these issues as they relate to participation rates, informal and formal manufacturing and skills and education. We use examples from developing countries, particularly South Korea (Republic of Korea), Mexico, Colombia and Algeria, the four country case studies chosen to illustrate diverse industrialisation processes in some detail. An explanation of the criteria used in selecting the case studies, as well as more complete descriptions of their industrialisation experiences may be found in the Appendix. Readers interested in further exploring the issue of the changing nature of female employment in manufacturing are referred to the bibliography, where

UNIDO's recent studies in particular provide a more complete picture of recent trends.

### **3.1 Industrialisation policies in developing countries**

In the decades after the Second World War, industrialisation was a major element of the development strategies pursued by most developing countries. Manufacturing industry has generally been perceived as a potentially very dynamic sector of productive activity, with the capacity to generate growth in other sectors of the economy (Hirschman, 1958). Although views about how industrialisation should be pursued have changed over time and from one national context to another, its desirability has remained a feature of the changing development paradigms discussed in section two. Regardless of whether prevalent development policies emphasised an accelerated-growth model or exhibited a preoccupation with efficiency, interventionism or laissez-faire, the growth of manufacturing industry has been widely perceived as a desirable outcome of development - as shown by the fact that, despite decades of rapid industrialisation particularly in the so-called Newly Industrialising Countries (NICs), developed countries are still also popularly known as 'industrialised nations'.

Industrialisation experiences vary greatly throughout the developing world, ranging from the rapidly-growing export-oriented NICs of the Far East to a range of Sub-Saharan African countries with a handful of industries producing basic consumer goods. While such variations may be only partly attributed to differences in the development goals explicitly pursued by governments - and often expressed in five- or ten-year plans - there is little doubt that governments have always played some role, whether direct or indirect, in fostering industrial development (Shapiro and Taylor, 1990).

The notions of 'policy' and 'policy intervention' are important ones here as they provide elements for future action. In discussing development policies we refer to a set of concerted efforts - whether of different institutions within the state apparatus or in conjunction with the private sector - aimed at achieving a specified goal (Fajnzylber, 1990). For example, in the different development paradigms briefly mentioned earlier, such goals - as expressed through the reports of international aid agencies and the writings of influential development thinkers - shifted from an almost exclusive pursuit of economic growth in the 1950s and 1960s, to also meeting the basic needs of the poor in the 1970s, to emphasising structural adjustment, economic efficiency and debt repayment in the early 1980s to increased productivity

and comparative advantage coupled with human development and sustainability goals in the early 1990s (see Table 1).

The policy instruments used by governments in pursuing these broader goals have helped shape the expansion of manufacturing industry. Trade and regulatory regimes have been among the most favoured forms of state intervention at different stages in the industrialisation process. These regimes appear to have played a more important role in influencing the expansion of local manufacturing than other policy instruments, such as direct credit and state-owned enterprises (Page, 1990). Thus, the well-known notions of import substitution industrialisation and export-oriented industrialisation, whose relative merits as engines of development have been the object of lively debates since the 1970s, arise precisely out of ascribing more significance to a particular trade regime.

The trade regimes and industrialisation strategies followed in recent decades in the four country case studies are summarised in Table 1 (these and the economic and social changes that accompanied them are presented in more detail in tables A to I of the Appendix), where they may be seen in the context of changing development paradigms. Up to 1960, South Korea, Mexico and Colombia were undergoing a process of 'primary import substitution industrialisation' (shift from imports to local manufacture of basic consumer goods; cf. Garaffi, 1990), while Algeria was still a primary-producer under French colonial rule. In subsequent decades, South Korea would emerge as one of the world's fastest-growing economies, based largely on its capacity to export manufactured goods. After 1960, industrialisation in Colombia and Mexico shifted to a stage of secondary import-substitution (with increased production of intermediate goods and consumer durables for the domestic market) with a short-lived attempt to foster growth through manufactured exports in Colombia in the late 1960s to early 1970s. In the meantime, by then independent socialist Algeria grew to rely almost exclusively on oil and gas exports. With the exception of South Korea, in the 1980s the growth rates of these economies, and indeed of the manufacturing sectors, would drop considerably - while there were some attempts at reforming the economy while diminishing the role of the public sector, notably in Algeria and Mexico. This was followed in the 1990s by drastic liberalisation efforts in Colombia and Mexico and, to a lesser extent Algeria (despite this momentous changes, the decade of the 1990s has not been included in the analysis, largely because it is too soon to assess the effects of reforms).

### **3.2 Gender dimensions of industrialisation**

## **i. Employment and activity rates**

Although the four countries pursued quite distinct industrialisation paths, they represent examples of the almost uninterrupted process of structural change that most developing economies underwent after the Second World War. This was accompanied by other significant changes, such as improvements in health and education, as well as drops in the relative share of men in the labour force. There was of course a corresponding increase in the number and proportion of economically active women (those with a job or seeking work) in all major regions of the world (Table 2), which proved particularly high in Latin America and the group of industrialised market economies. By the mid-1980s, women represented, on average, between a quarter and almost half of the economically active population in the main regions listed in Table 2. When examining individual countries, the range of variation is actually wider than these averages suggest, however, as illustrated by the case of Algeria where according to official figures women represent 9 percent of the economically active population (Table G, Appendix) as against 41 percent in Colombia.

The apparent increase in women's participation in the labour force may be explained by a combination of real changes in the economy of these countries and flaws in the instruments conventionally used to measure participation (ILO, 1989; Berger, 1989). One explanation lies in actual changes in the activities undertaken by a substantial number of women during the period of study, from performing mostly household reproductive and unregistered productive activities in subsistence agriculture to more urban-based (and more visible and easily-recorded) productive activities oriented to the market (crafts, street-trading or even formal employment). It is worth recalling, in this respect, that increased participation in productive activities rarely relieves women from reproductive responsibilities in the household, especially among poorer households who cannot afford domestic help.

A second explanation lies in a greater access to education and skills of women and the resulting expansion in economic opportunities for a greater number of them, especially in tertiary-sector occupations; this is particularly true in East Asia and Latin America. A third factor lies in the increase in the number of households headed or maintained by women, which results in the need a growing number of women to gain direct access to sources of income to support their dependents.

The crude female activity rate (the ratio of economically active female population to total female population) also increased in most countries and

regions of the world after 1950 (Table 2) although less dramatically than the female share of the labour force. It also rose between 1970 and 1990 in three of the case studies, while that of male workers dropped in all four cases (Table G, Appendix). This suggests that employment opportunities for women tended to grow faster during this period than for men. This, as will be seen later, was due mostly to growth in the small-scale industrial and service sectors, where women tend to be over-represented in relation to their contribution to the labour force as a whole.

Urbanization and the simultaneous decrease in the importance of agriculture in most economies was reflected in drops in the proportion of economically active men and women engaged in agricultural activities. Between 1950 and 1980, the share of economically active females in agriculture in all developing countries dropped from 87 to 71 percent (Table 3), while that of males dropped from 78 to 63 percent (ILO, 1989). This was paralleled by the expansion of employment in industry (including manufacturing) and services. For economically active females in developing countries, this meant an increase from 5 to 12 percent in industry and from 8 to 17 percent in services. Similarly, by 1980, a larger proportion of active males were engaged in industry and services than in 1950 (16 and 21 percent, respectively).

The process was not a homogenous one throughout the developing world, however, as the figures in Table 3 show. Despite the changes, in some regions such as Africa south of the Sahara and East Asia (including China), the weight of agriculture remained much higher in 1980 than it had been in 1950 in the Caribbean and South and Central America, where the vast majority of female workers were engaged in the industry and service sectors and remained so by 1980. In contrast with the developing countries, changes in the group of industrialised economies involved a slight drop in the economically active females in industry and a substantial increase in the service sector at the expense of agriculture in the three decades after 1950. This mirrored changes in the structure of production of this group of nations towards service-oriented economies and more highly capital-intensive industries.

## **ii. Small-scale and informal sector manufacturing**

A salient feature of recent industrialisation in most of the developing world has been the disparity between the growth in manufacturing output and in the number of factory jobs. In the three decades after 1950, and with the exception of Sub-Saharan Africa, manufacturing was the most dynamic sector in most

developing nations. That is certainly the case in the four case studies. Manufacturing output grew at rates that exceeded those of gross domestic product in virtually every decade since 1960 in all four cases (Table F, Appendix). By 1990, this sector had gained a position of pre-eminence in the economies of South Korea, Mexico and Colombia while in Algeria, where it had started from a much smaller base, it had managed to expand faster than industry as a whole (dominated by gas and oil production) after 1970. But, in contrast with the experience of industrialised countries, growth in formal employment did not keep up with the growth in production.

A look at Colombia and Mexico helps examine the process more closely. In tandem with the rest of Latin America, the unprecedented expansion of medium and large-scale manufacturing output in these two countries was characterised by rapid increases in productivity and a parallel growth of employment in services but also a virtually undiminished share of self-employment and employment in the so-called 'informal' - or unregistered - sector not merely in manufacturing but especially in service and trade activities (Castells and Portes, 1989). The share of urban informal employment in the economically active population in both nations remained virtually unchanged between 1950 and 1980 (at over a third in both cases and an average of 30.3 percent for Latin America in 1980; *ibid.*). In some large cities - and depending on the definition of informality used - the share of informal employment was much higher (Lanzetta and Murillo, 1989). Thus, contrary to the goals of policies inspired in ideas of the 'Accelerated Economic Growth' model (cf. section 2) industrialisation did not generate enough 'modern' manufacturing jobs for all new entrants in the labour force. Many of them, and particularly women, became active in the informal sector either as entrepreneurs ('own account workers'), as employees or as unpaid family workers.

In many countries, informal manufacturing or 'cottage shop' firms generate a substantial part of all manufacturing employment and, within these, women frequently play an important role, either as workers or as entrepreneurs. Such firms generated an estimated 60 percent of all manufacturing jobs in India, 36 percent in South Korea and nearly half in Colombia in the 1970s (cf. Table I, Appendix). Although precise figures are not available, it is estimated that two-fifths of the female manufacturing labour force in developing countries is active in the informal sector, particularly as entrepreneurs or as unpaid family workers; in Africa, this figure may be as high as two-thirds (Kusel, 1992a). In the case of the four country case studies and in the absence of more precise figures on the informal sector (by definition an unregistered sector), a measure of female activity here may be

given by the share of women who are employers and self-employed workers in manufacturing (Table H, Appendix). In the late 1980s, this was 47.2 percent in Colombia, 18.3 percent in South Korea and a considerably lower 4.2 percent in Algeria. These figures are complemented by studies suggesting, for example, that in Mexico City a high number of those engaged in production as workers in small-scale firms or as homeworkers in sub-contracting networks producing for the local market are women (Benería and Roldán, 1987).

Informal and small-scale manufacturing employment has tended to grow as a proportion of total employment, largely as a response to drops in economic growth rates and increased competitiveness forcing formal-sector firms to become leaner and more flexible by shedding jobs, cutting overheads and sub-contracting part of their production to smaller, often home-based, units where fixed costs are generally lower (UNIDO, 1993b; Benería, 1989). In this framework, and in a context of falling social expenditure by most governments, the proportion of women who have engaged in small-scale income-earning activities in manufacturing has increased faster than that of men. An explanation for this may be largely found in the multiple roles that particularly poorer women in urban contexts have, as discussed at the beginning of this paper (cf. section 1). For many women, particularly in Latin America's urban areas, initiating a new enterprise or working as sub-contractors from their home allows them to balance their productive, reproductive and community activities. This need is more acute in the case of households headed or maintained by women, a growing phenomenon in all societies, developed and developing alike (for example, women-headed households were estimated to represent between 18 and 38 percent of all households in five Latin American cities in the early 1980s; cf. Benería, 1989).

### **iii. Formal sector manufacturing**

Other gender dimensions of the industrialisation process are apparent in the pattern of employment in formal manufacturing. If generalisations were to be made for all developing countries, perhaps the two most salient features in this respect are the fact that some branches of industry tend to have a disproportionate share of women (relative to women's overall participation in the labour force) and that, within firms, women tend to be employed as workers, rather than in managerial positions, and in lower-paid, less stable and more repetitive occupations. There are variations of this phenomena, and these have been well-documented for many countries (see Kusel, 1992 a and b and Mitter, 1992). The four country case studies provide further illustration of this (information

used here and not found in the tables in the Appendix has been drawn from UNIDO's country-specific database on women in industry; cf. UNIDO, 1993a). In South Korea, female manufacturing employment is concentrated in textiles, garments, leather and fabricated metal, with women occupying mostly unskilled, lower-paid positions (Table H, Appendix). There are also considerable wage differentials by sex, with the biggest gap found in production-related occupations where women earn an average of 54 percent of men's income.

In the case of Mexico, women may be found predominantly in labour-intensive agro-industries such as food processing, textiles and garments, leather and shoes. They may also be found in disproportionate numbers in the export-processing industries ('maquiladoras') along the US border, mostly in clothing and electronics. Although there are no figures available for male/female earning ratios within manufacturing, the overall ratio for all sectors in the mid-1980s was 85.6 percent (Table G, Appendix).

In Colombia's manufacturing sector, women tend to be concentrated in food processing, baking, brickmaking and garments. The economic slowdown of the 1980s produced drops in the income differentials between the sexes, with a general decline in women's salary levels, particularly in mid-range salary positions. In all economic sectors taken as a whole, women's earnings were 84.6 percent of men's in 1989 (Table G, Appendix).

Algeria, where women represent 8.4 percent of the total manufacturing workforce, has by far the lowest participation rate of all case studies and among the lowest in the world. Most of the women engaged in formal manufacturing employment work in textiles and garments, but also in food-processing and electronics. The range of branches where they are to be found is narrower than in the other three countries. Women hold manual, unskilled positions and are rarely found in supervisory occupations, while their incomes are on average 75 percent of those of men within the sector.

Although as a general rule the position of women has generally improved in terms of status and income within formal manufacturing throughout the developing world, these examples show that there remain important gender differentiations which may in part be traced to widely-held cultural stereotypes. Such stereotypes often view women, for example, as incapable of performing heavy tasks (as in Latin America and parts of Asia) or even if it is culturally accepted that they should perform such tasks (as in India) they are paid less to do so. Other important factors which introduce differentials in the type of positions held by men and women include legislation

designed to protect women, for example during pregnancy or to avoid being forced to work at night, but which may also make female labour more expensive for formal employers who are bound by legislation or the pressure of trade unions (Rohini, 1991). It is also influenced by their capacity to organise which is in turn influenced by the gender dimensions of existing trade union structures, the impact of their socialisation and access to skills, and the time constraints posed by their other roles and responsibilities.

#### **iv. Skills and education**

Differentials in patterns of formal manufacturing employment may be traced to the differing access to skills and education that men and women from different socio-economic backgrounds have at various points in their lives and at different stages of the industrialisation process. Perhaps with the exception of Latin America's largest cities, women throughout the developing world generally have had more limited access to the type of education and technical skills that will give them access to managerial and skilled positions in formal manufacturing. Even in South Korea, where female manufacturing participation rates are higher than in any of the other case studies, participation rates of educated women in the labour force halved between 1975 and 1986 an outcome that may not be unconnected to the fact that '...manufacturing enterprises are more restrictive in employing and/or promoting women professionals than men' (UNIDO, 1993a). A similar situation may be found in other contexts, as cited in a World Bank study which notes that secondary education tends to improve the chances of women obtaining wage employment, while tertiary (university) education appears less important in this respect (quoted in Kusel, 1992a).

In Mexico, female enrolment in technical, vocational education doubled between 1975 and 1985 (ibid.). In northern Mexico's 'maquiladora' industries, on the other hand, in the context of a drop in the female share of the labour force from 89 percent in the early 1980s to 55 percent in 1990, preference for young female workers as documented in the early 1980s has given way to a predominance of men and of older women with children; this may be partly explained by the fact that older women are also experienced industrial workers who are expected to cope better than young untrained females with the new type of multi-skilled tasks which are increasingly becoming a feature of export manufacturing firms (Pearson, 1993; UNIDO, 1993b).



#### **4. Conclusion: Integrating Gender into Policy for Manufacturing Industry**

organisationally separate from domestic life. Today there is less homogeneity in

Reference to the four country case studies illustrates some of the gender dimensions of different industrialisation strategies over time, particularly in relation to patterns of employment, given the preoccupation with the extent and nature of women's labour force participation of much of the literature to date. Industrialisation remains an important element of the development strategies pursued by most developing countries today. However, current policies for industrialisation in particular, and productive transformation more generally, include support for a much wider variety of growth-promoting strategies than in the past.

In the 1990s there is evidence of less rigidity and more flexibility in efforts to develop manufacturing industry. Economic growth is no longer exclusively associated with large-scale infrastructural development and mechanisation, although these remain important. The significance of the informal economy and the potential of small-scale enterprise to contribute towards both economic growth, employment creation and poverty reduction is also recognised and pursued, as are strategies to develop appropriate technology, both for environmental reasons and to match the needs and skills of users. Thus it is possible to observe both 'trickle down' and 'rising tide' growth-promoting strategies in manufacturing development. A gender analysis of industrialisation policy needs to look at both the opportunities and constraints faced by women and men in the context of these different strategies in particular contexts and the way in which they may or may not meet their gender needs.

The importance of including a gender dimension in our understanding of industrialisation strategies and manufacturing development is essential, given the vital role that both women and men play both as producers and consumers of manufactured goods. Recognising the interaction between the organisation of work and other social relationships and responsibilities is crucial to the development of sustainable strategies towards promoting productivity and reducing poverty. Women and men are never just workers but have other social roles in the household and community, which impinge on the manner and extent to which they can engage in and benefit from productive activities.

Moreover, the impact of industrialisation can also be different for women and men and affect their well-being more generally. A compartmentalised approach to industrialisation policy, which addresses workers as mobile units of labour with no other claims on their time and energy, is a tendency which has been reinforced by Fordist and Taylorist production processes, where work life is physically and

the organisation of production globally, with a growing trend towards flexible specialisation, home-working and workshop-based industry, and the spatial separation between work, community and family life is often less obvious. This presents an opportunity to integrate a gender perspective

into our understanding of industrialisation policy, a perspective which takes into account the gender dimensions of the impact of different industrialisation strategies and their potential for obstructing or meeting the gender needs of both women and men.

## APPENDIX

### 1.Choice of case studies

Because industrialisation experiences have been so varied throughout the developing world, it is difficult to speak of "industrialisation strategies" in a vacuum. And although there are similarities in the growth patterns and policy orientation of some countries (for instance, among the larger Latin American economies between 1930 and 1960), the set of policy instruments used in a given national and historical context may not yield the same results elsewhere: this is one of the most valuable lessons of the history of development thought. Similarly, to classify countries merely as pursuing a strategy of import-substitution or export-promotion adds little to our understanding of the effectiveness of policy, if only because these are over-simplifications of a more complex reality (World Bank, 1987; Gereffi, 1990). As is shown below, countries have often pursued variants of these simultaneously or in succession.

The choice of case studies draws on a typology of semi-industrial countries developed by Chenery et al. (1986) on the basis of size, resource endowments (comparative advantage) and trade policies. These authors define semi-industrial countries as those where the contribution of manufacturing to growth exceeds that of primary production (ibid, p.85). In this typology countries were classified into four categories: outward, primary-oriented economies; inward-oriented economies; neutral economies; and outward, industry-oriented economies, with these categories further broken down into large and small according to the size of the economy.

The case studies chosen to illustrate these four categories in the analysis are Algeria, Mexico, South Korea and Colombia respectively, during particular periods of their recent history. Based on their per capita GNP, the first three are "upper middle-income economies" in the World Bank's classification, while Colombia is a "middle-income" country (see Table E).

In the decades after the Second World War, Algeria represented a case of an almost uninterrupted outwardly-oriented form of development (table 1), firstly by exporting minerals to the colonial metropolis (France) until the early 1960s and then with an almost total reliance on oil and natural gas as its only exports. In the period between 1930 and up to the mid-1970s, Mexico could be classified as pursuing a policy of import-substitution industrialisation (ISI) with manufacturing industry relying almost entirely on a large and growing internal market (Table B); in subsequent years (partly due to an oil boom) it developed into somewhat more outwardly-oriented.

Colombia, a "neutral" case in terms of the typology, could not be said to have either an overtly ISI or an export-oriented industrialisation (EOI) strategy up to the mid-1970s (Table C), but had instead "average levels and patterns of trade and...only moderate levels of protection" (ibid. p. 94). South Korea, finally, particularly in the decades after 1960, was a clear case of an outward, industry-oriented economy pursuing a strategy of EOI (Table D).

**Table A: South Korea's Development Pattern, 1910-1990**

	1910-1945	1953-1960	1961-1972	1972-1990
<b>Trade Strategy</b>	Commodity exports	Primary ISI	Primary EOI	Secondary ISI Secondary EOI
<b>Main Industries</b>	Rice, beans	Food beverages, tobacco, textiles, clothing, footwear, cement, light manufacturing (wood, leather, rubber and paper products)	Textiles and apparel, electronics, plywood, wigs, intermediate goods (chemicals, petroleum, paper and steel products)	Automobiles, ship-building, steel and metal products, petrochemicals, textiles and apparel, electronics, video-cassette recorders, machinery
<b>Major Economic Agents</b>	Local producers (colonial rule by Japan)	National private firms	National private firms, transnational corporations, state-owned enterprises	National private firms, transnational corporations, state-owned enterprises, transnational banks
<b>Orientation of Economy</b>	External markets	Internal market	External markets	External and internal markets

ISI = Import substitution industrialisation

EOI = Export-oriented industrialisation

Source: adapted from Gereffi (1990)

**Table B: Mexico's Development Pattern, 1880-1990**

	<b>1880-1930</b>	<b>1930-1955</b>	<b>1955-1975</b>	<b>1975-1990</b>
<b>Trade Strategy</b>	Commodity exports	Primary ISI	Secondary ISI	Diversified exports and secondary ISI
<b>Main Industries</b>	Precious metals (silver, gold), mineral (copper, lead, zinc), oil	Textiles, food, cement, iron and steel, paper, chemicals	Oil, silver, apparel, transport equipment, non-electrical machinery	Oil, silver, apparel, transport equipment, non-electrical machinery
<b>Major Economic Agents</b>	Foreign investors	National private firms	State-owned enterprises, transnational corporations and national private firms	State-owned enterprises, transnational banks, transnational corporations and national private firms
<b>Orientation of Economy</b>	External markets	Internal markets	Internal markets	External and internal markets

ISI = Import substitution industrialisation

EOI = Export-oriented industrialisation

Source: adapted from Gereffi (1990)

**Table C: Colombia's Development Pattern, 1880-1990**

	<b>1880-1930</b>	<b>1930-1955</b>	<b>1955-1968</b>	<b>1968-1990</b>
<b>Trade Strategy</b>	Commodity exports	Primary ISI	Secondary ISI	Primary EOI Secondary ISI
<b>Main Industries</b>	Coffee	Textiles, food, apparel	Textiles, chemicals, beverages, food, non-metallic minerals	Chemicals, food, textiles, transport equipment, apparel
<b>Major Economic Agents</b>	Local producers	National private firms	Transnational corporations and national private firms	Transnational corporations and national private firms
<b>Orientation of Economy</b>	External markets	Internal markets	Internal markets	External and internal markets

ISI = Import substitution industrialisation

EOI = Export-oriented industrialisation

Source: Wogart (1978) and Chica Avella (1983)

**Table D: Algeria's Development Pattern, 1914-1990**

	<b>1914-1962</b>	<b>1962-1973</b>	<b>1973-1990</b>
<b>Trade Strategy</b>	Commodity exports	(Commodity exports)	Commodity exports
<b>Main Industries</b>	Minerals (Iron ore, phosphates, lead, zinc), wine, citrus fruits	Oil, minerals, wine	Oil, gas
<b>Major Economic Agents</b>	Local producers (colonial rule by France)	(Transitional post-independence stage) State-owned enterprises (heavy industry), national private firms (light industry, agro-industry)	State-owned enterprises (heavy industry), national private firms (light industry, agro-industry)
<b>Orientation of Economy</b>	External markets	External markets	External markets

Sources: Europa Publications (1992), Arab Banking Corporation (1990)

**Table E: Basic Economic Indicators of Country Case Studies, 1960-1990**

Country	Popn. (1990)	Area (x1000km <sup>2</sup> )	GDP US\$ millions		GNP per capita (dollars) 1990	Distribution of gross domestic product (%)							
						Agriculture		Industry		(Manufacturing)		Services	
			1960	1980		1960	1990	1960	1990	1960	1990	1960	1990
South Korea	42.8	98	3,810	236,400	5,400	37	9	20	45	14	31	43	46
Mexico	86.2	1,973	12,040	237,750	2,490	16	9	29	30	19	23	55	61
Colombia	32.3	1,139	4,010	41,120	1,260	34	17	26	32	17	21	40	51
Algeria	25.1	2,382	2,740	42,150	2,060	16	13	35	47	6	12	49	41

Note: Manufacturing is a sub-sector of industry

Source: For 1960: World Bank (1982); for 1990: World Bank (1992)



**Table F: Growth of Production in Country Case Studies, 1960-1990**

Country	Average Annual Growth Rates (%)														
	GDP			Agriculture			Industry			Manufacturing			Services		
	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90	1960-70	1970-80	1980-90
South Korea	8.6	9.5	9.7	4.4	3.2	2.8	17.2	15.4	12.2	17.6	16.6	12.7	8.9	8.5	9.2
Mexico	7.2	5.2	1.0	3.8	2.3	0.4	9.1	6.6	1.0	9.0	5.9	1.4	6.9	4.9	1.1
Colombia	5.1	5.9	3.7	3.5	4.9	3.0	6.0	4.9	5.1	5.7	6.3	3.4	5.7	7.0	2.9
Algeria	4.3	7.0	3.1	0.1	3.1	4.3	11.6	7.9	2.9	7.8	11.4	3.0	-1.0	6.3	2.9

Source: For 1960-1980: World Bank (1982); for 1990: World Bank (1992)

**Table G: Sex-specific Economic Indicators for Country Case Studies**

Country	Economic Activity Rate (a)						Women's participation in formal manufacturing (Share of manufacturing employment)		Women's participation in the labour force (Share of total economically active population)		Female/male earnings ratio in all sectors	
	As % of either female or male sub-population				Average annual growth 1970-90 (%)		Year	%	Year	%	Year	%
	Female		Male		Female	Male						
	1970	1990	1970	1990								
South Korea	38	40	81	78	2.9	2.6	1990	43	1990	40	--	NA
Mexico	18	30	85	82	6.2	3.3	1980	26	1988	31	1984	85.6
Colombia	22	22	84	79	3.0	2.7	1990	36	1990	41	1989	84.6
Algeria	4	8	79	75	6.0	3.4	1987	8	1987	9	--	<b>NA</b>

a = Economically active population divided by total population of either females or males

Sources: For economic activity rate: United Nations (1991); For women's participation: UNIDO (1992a); For earnings ratio: Psacharopoulos and Tzannatos (1992)

**Table H: Female Participation in Manufacturing in South Korea, Colombia and Algeria<sup>a</sup>**

Status	Proportion of female workers by status (%)			Share of total female employment in manufacturing (%)		
	South Korea	Colombia	Algeria	South Korea	Colombia	Algeria
Employers and own account workers	18.3	47.2	4.2	4.3	26.0	6.9
Employees	43.2	35.9	8.5	88.5	71.0	88.2
Unpaid family workers	87.6	81.8	10.5	7.2	2.9	4.9
Total	42.3	39.0	8.4	100.0	100.0	100.0

Years:South Korea: 1990

Colombia: 1989

Algeria: 1987

Note: Figures may not add up because of rounding

Sources: UNIDO's Women in Industry Country Database, using ILO figures.

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<sup>a</sup>Figures not available for Mexico.

**Table I: Distribution of Manufacturing Employment by Firm Size: Selected Countries (percent)**

Country	Year	Cottage Shop (1-4 Workers)	Small and Medium Industry (5-99 workers)	Large Industry (100 + workers)
United States	1967	1.1	22.3	76.6
Japan	1975	19.1	36.6	44.3
India	1973	60	18	22
South Korea	1975	36	17	47
Mexico	--	NA	NA	NA
Colombia	1964	51.4	24.9	23.7
	1978 <sup>b</sup>	42.5-47.5	28.7-29.9	24.0-27.6
Algeria	--	NA	NA	NA

Source: Cortes, Berry, and Ishaq (1987)

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<sup>b</sup>The 1978 ranges for Colombia result from uncertainty about the reliability of figures.

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## NOTE

- i. The term **gender** is used to differentiate the concept of the social relations between women and men, from sex which pertains to the biological difference between them, and women which can imply an exclusive focus on women outside of the context of their relations with men.